

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK, US

SUBJECT: MARTIN ARTICLE ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT

1. THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE FILED BY DAVID MARTIN IN LUSAKA APPEARED IN THE OCTOBER 3 EDITION OF LONDON'S OBSERVER NEWSPAPER. THE STORY QUOTES IN FULL A DOCUMENT DATED SEPTEMBER 21 WHICH MARTIN SAYS SECRETARY KISSINGER GAVE TO "NATIONALISTS" AS AN OUTLINE FOR STEPS TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA. MARTIN ESTIMATES THAT KISSINGER MADE COMMITMENTS TO IAN SMITH FAR MORE DETAILED THAN THE NATIONALISTS WOULD ENDORSE.

2. BEGIN QUOTE: THE DETAILED PROPOSALS FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT WHICH THE AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. UNCLASSIFIED

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HENRY KISSINGER, PUT TO RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS DIFFER SUB-

STANTIALY FROM MR. IAN SMITH'S BROADCAST VERSION OF THE PLAN. ACCORDING TO A DOCUMENT I HAVE OBTAINED HERE. THE DISCREPANCIES SUGGEST SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AT THE CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA NOW EXPECTED TO BE CONVENED IN THE NEXT FORTNIGHT.

DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HERE SAY THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD EITHER AT LIVINGSTONE OR IN LUSAKA, WHICH IS FAVORED BECAUSE OF ITS BETTER COMMUNICATIONS. A THIRD POSSIBILITY IS MAURITIUS.

THE PRESIDENTS OF ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, BOTSWANA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE DID NOT REJECT THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS OUT OF HAND. BUT THEY DID REFUSE TO ACCEPT IN ADVANCE CONDITIONS THEY BELIEVED SHOULD PROPERLY BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION AT A CONFERENCE.

OFFICIAL TANZANIAN SOURCES INSIST THAT PRESIDENT JULIUS NYERERE REPEATEDLY TOLD KISSINGER HE WAS INTERESTED ONLY IN GETTING SMITH TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. DETAILS WERE A MATTER FOR THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS TO NEGOTIATE.

THE SOURCES SAID THE TANZANIAN LEADER HAD ACTIVELY DISCOURAGED KISSINGER FROM DISCUSSING DETAILS WITH SMITH AND CERTAINLY DID NOT GIVE ADVANCE AGREEMENT TO ANY PACKAGE DEAL. THEY SAID THAT KISSINGER AND ESPECIALLY SMITH CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONFUSION OVER WHAT HAD AND HAD NOT BEEN AGREED.

AFTER MEETING SMITH IN PRETORIA, KISSINGER HAD A 15-MINUTE MEETING HERE WITH JOSHUA NKOMO, ONE OF THE KEY BLACK RHODESIAN NATIONALIST LEADERS.

NATIONALIST SOURCES SAY THAT KISSINGER OUTLINED THE PROPOSALS SMITH HAD AGREED TO. NKOMO IMMEDIATELY POINTED OUT THAT THERE WERE 'SERIOUS FLAWS' AND STRESSED THAT SOME OF THE PROPOSALS WERE MATTERS THE NATIONALISTS MUST NEGOTIATE.

SUBSEQUENTLY, THE SOURCES SAY, THE NATIONALISTS WERE GIVEN A TYPED COPY OF THE PROPOSALS. THEY CONFIRM THAT THE TYPED DOCUMENT WAS SIMILAR TO THE BRIEFING GIVEN BY KISSINGER TO NKOMO. THE DOCUMENT, DATED 21 SEPTEMBER, READS:

'1. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1976, IAN SMITH WILL MAKE A STATEMENT ACCEPTING MAJORITY RULE WITHIN TWO YEARS, AS UNCLASSIFIED

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DEMANDED BY THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICANS. BEFORE FRIDAY, SMITH IS INFORMING HIS CABINET AND HIS PARTY CAUCUS.

2. IN HIS STATEMENT, SMITH WILL INVITE BLACK LEADERS (WHOMEVER THEY ARE) TO COME FORWARD IN ORDER TO FORM AN INTERIM OR TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL BE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) COUNCIL OF STATE CONSISTING OF AN EQUAL NUMBER

OF BLACK AND WHITE REPRESENTATIVES. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE SHOULD BE WHITE. THE SIZE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE CAN BE AS SMALL AS FOUR (TWO NATIONALISTS AND TWO WHITES) OR IT CAN BE EIGHT (FOUR NATIONALISTS AND FOUR WHITES.) THE FUNCTION OF THE COUNCIL WILL BE LIKE THAT OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL OR A HIGH COMMISSIONER, AS WAS IN THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE. THE COUNCIL OF STATE WILL SUPERVISE THE DRAWING UP OF A CONSTITUTION.

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(B) A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CONSISTING OF A BLACK PRIME MINISTER AND A MAJORITY OF BLACK MINISTERS. THE RHODESIANS SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED THAT THEY CONTROL THE MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER.

THE REASON FOR THIS IS THE FEAR OF A POSSIBLE COLLAPSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION. THEY REFER TO ANQOLA, WHERE ARRESTS AND COUNTER-ARRESTS FINALLY LED TO THE BREAKDOWN OF GOVERNMENT MACHINERY.

4. DECISIONS WILL BE BY TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.
 5. THE REBEL CONSTITUTION WILL BE SUSPENDED.
 6. BRITAIN WILL PASS ENABLING LEGISLATION.
 7. ONCE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IS FORMED, THE SANCTIONS WILL HAVE TO BE LIFTED AND NORMALITY RESTORED.
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MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE WILL BE CHOSEN BY EACH SIDE, NAMELY, THE NATIONALISTS ON ONE SIDE AND THE WHITES ON THE OTHER. THIS WILL APPLY TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

8. THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT CAN BE ESTABLISHED AS EARLY AS NEXT MONTH AND INDEPENDENCE WITHIN 24 MONTHS.' FROM THIS DOCUMENT IT IS CLEAR THAT KISSINGER COMMITTED HIMSELF TO A NUMBER OF PRE-CONDITIONS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND BLACK NATIONALISTS, SUCH AS THE NOTION THAT SMITH WOULD INVITE BLACK LEADERS TO FORM AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. AFRICAN LEADERS AND NATIONALISTS INSIST THAT THIS IS BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY AS THE COLONIAL AUTHORITY.

BRITAIN'S POSITION HAS BEEN IRRITATING AFRICAN LEADERS THIS PAST WEEK. NYERERE SAID: 'WE ARE NOT ASKING BRITAIN TO HELP TO ORGANIZE A CONFERENCE. WE ARE ASKING THEM TO ASSUME THEIR FULL RESPONSIBILITY TO CALL THAT CONFERENCE.'

NATIONALIST SOURCES POINT OUT THAT SMITH SERIOUSLY EXAGGERATED PARAGRAPH THREE OF THE KISSINGER DOCUMENT. KISSINGER APPEARS TO HAVE AGREED IN ADVANCE TO A TWO-TIER GOVERNMENT WITH A COUNCIL OF STATE WITH PARITY BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES AND A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WITH AN AFRICAN MAJORITY.

SMITH, IN HIS BROADCAST 10 DAYS AGO, WENT VERY MUCH FURTHER IN DECLARING THAT THE COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD BE 'THE SUPREME BODY' AND THAT ITS FIRST DUTY WOULD BE TO APPOINT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

THIS MEANT THAT THERE WOULD BE NO MAJORITY RULE IN THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, BECAUSE THE WHITE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE, WHICH SMITH WOULD APPARENTLY LIKE TO CHAIR, COULD BLOCK ANY REFORMS PROPOSED BY THE AFRICAN MAJORITY COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

IN THE DOCUMENT GIVEN TO THE NATIONALISTS, THE COUNCIL OF STATE WAS ONLY TO SUPERVISE THE DRAWING UP OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND NO MENTION WAS MADE OF ITS BEING 'SUPREME'.

FURTHER, WHEREAS THE DOCUMENT SAID THE RHODESIANS
HAD 'REQUESTED' RETENTION OF THE MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE
AND LAW AND ORDER IN WHITE HANDS, SMITH SUGGESTED THAT
THIS HAD BEEN AGREED.

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NATIONALISTS ARE UNITED IN THEIR TOTAL REJECTION OF
THIS PROVISIO. THEY INSIST THAT THE PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENTS
OF POWER MUST BE IN THEIR HANDS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD.

THE 'FRONT LINE' PRESIDENTS INSIST THAT THERE MUST
BE 'AN AFRICAN MAJORITY TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.' WITH-
OUT AGREEMENT ON THIS, THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE HAS LITTLE
CHANCE OF SUCCESS. END QUOTE

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